

SOCIAL ACTION NEWS-LETTER

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VANDENBERG TO THE RESCUE

James A. Crain

The people of the United States can thank Senator Arthur Vandenberg of Michigan, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, for rescuing the country from what Walter Lippmann calls "the hot unqualified generalities" of President Truman's request for aid to Greece and Turkey. An amendment submitted by the Michigan senator to the bill appropriating \$400,000,000 for military and economic aid—principally military—to these two countries directs the President to withdraw such assistance if officially advised by the United Nations that its continuance is unnecessary or undesirable. Under the amendment such action may be taken either by the Security Council or the General Assembly and the U. S. specifically renounces the right of veto.

While the principal objection to the President's policy can be remedied by no conceivable number of amendments, the change made at the instigation of the Michigan Senator does put the United Nations back into the picture. In his message to Congress President Truman completely by-passed the U. N. with a mere aside that it is not equipped to handle a problem of this magnitude. The simple fact is that the President and his advisors determined to take unilateral action to put the United States to the front in the Mediterranean area and wanted the U. N. to have no chance to intervene to counteract his plans. He therefore went to Congress with a demand for funds for military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey. The Administration propagandists took up the hue and cry and demanded immediate action. Fortunately for the cause of world peace, letters and telegrams began to pour in on Congressmen and Senators. The people of the United States have no desire to see Europe communized. Neither do they want the United States to become the residual legatee of the disintegrating British Empire or to assume responsibility of maintaining Britain's stranglehold on Gibraltar, the Suez Canal, and through Turkey, on the Dardanelles. Neither do they want to become the guarantors of corrupt and tyrannical regimes which happen for the moment to be useful to the western powers, but on whose loyalties no nation can count. Arthur Crock, *New York Times* writer, on the basis of confidential and trustworthy reports from Athens, asserts that President Truman's message was regarded by the Greek government as a blank check to undergird its reactionary policies and as a green light to suppress not only Communists (who constitute only about 20 percent of the opposition), but also republicans and moderates as well. He reports that the promise of unqualified American support has produced a wave of reactionary terrorism, arbitrary arrests and deportations indistinguishable from the worst practices we have deplored and opposed. Other reports indicate that the guerrilla forces are mainly composed of Greeks who constituted the underground opposition to the Nazis and are continuing the struggle against the monarchy which is supported, in addition to the regular Greek army, by vigilante bands of "X-ists" who collaborated with the Nazis all during the occupation. It should be remembered that the late King George II was twice deposed by the Greek people and once by the army and that his return was brought about by a dictatorship supported by British arms. Now that Britain has confessed inability to carry the burden further President Truman obligingly obligates the United States to take up the disagreeable task and to become the guarantor in the name of democracy of two governments which have little more to recommend them than does Franco Spain. Turkey would get no more consideration from us than would Afghanistan were it not for the fact that Arabian oil lies in her back yard, while the Dardanelles runs through her front yard.

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STOP THE MINE SLAUGHTER!

James A. Crain

The grim tragedy that dogs the footsteps of American miners all their lives is again underscored by the explosion in the Centralia, Illinois, mine that cost 111 lives. If this were an isolated case it might be charged off to fortuitous circumstances, to the unavoidable hazards of a dangerous occupation. Unfortunately it is not an isolated case. According to the testimony of John L. Lewis before a House sub-committee on April 3, almost a thousand miners are killed in mine accidents every year and 57,000 suffer non-fatal injuries. This is too high a price to pay for the digging of coal, especially when nearly all of these accidents could be prevented if the coal operators were willing to go to the expense of installing the necessary safety devices.

The Centralia disaster is highlighted by some exceedingly ugly accusations. Mr. Lewis declares that federal mine inspectors found some 60 violations of the safety code in the mine before the disaster and so reported to the responsible officials of the State of Illinois and to Secretary of the Interior Krug, but no action was taken. Mr. Krug admits that the Centralia mine was inspected a week before the disaster but insists that no "imminent danger" was revealed. The Centralia miners, he declared, had appealed to all possible sources for relief, including their congressman, but without avail. Particularly unfortunate is the charge, if true, that mine owners were solicited for political contributions for the Chicago mayoralty campaign, some solicitations being made by state mine inspectors. While there may be no connection between these contributions and the failure of Governor Green's administration to take action on complaints of unsafe conditions in the mines, the charge will be hard to live down. The failure of Secretary Krug to take action under his powers as federal mine administrator also subjects him to criticism. He had before him—or could have had if he had cared to make inquiry within his own department—a detailed list of the 60 violations complained of. Naturally one cannot expect the head of a governmental bureau as large as that of the Department of Interior to be personally conversant with every detail of administration, but the chief administrator must accept full responsibility for the failures of his subordinates. And in view of his recent bitter controversies with John L. Lewis, Mr. Krug might have been expected to be particularly careful in this regard. The fact that he belatedly closed 518 mines as unsafe implies that the Centralia mine was no exceptional circumstance. If twenty percent of the nation's mines had to be closed down because they were unsafe one may assume that laxity in enforcement of safety regulations is rather general. On the other hand, it should be remembered that mining is an intrastate business and that federal safety regulations are not mandatory. Violations are reported to state enforcement officials, but since state codes differ and standards of enforcement differ these reports may result in little action.

Nor can Mr. Lewis' scathing denunciation of Secretary Krug as responsible for the Centralia deaths be taken at full face value. Mr. Lewis and his United Mine Workers are not without some contributory negligence. He was evidently aware of conditions, not only at Centralia but in many other mines, but did nothing to remedy them. He has pulled the miners out of the pits for pay increases, for portal-to-portal pay, for health and hospital benefits, and for other causes. Had he withdrawn U.M.W. members from the 518 unsafe mines until federal regulations were enforced he would have almost unanimous support of public opinion. Instead he allowed the miners to continue to work, hoping against hope that nothing would happen. Now that disaster has overtaken 111 of his men he must scream that others are guilty and seek to place full responsibility upon

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SOCIAL ACTION NEWS - LETTER

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CRISIS IN FOREIGN POLICY

Walter W. Sikes

The Truman proposals for aid to Turkey and Greece have precipitated discussion and action in America and elsewhere as few matters have done. The facts concerning this reaction are fairly well known. But the grounds upon which this reaction has been based are not always stated.

Writing from Paris on March 16, Harold Callender, special correspondent for the New York Times stated that the President's message had aroused in Europe "mental reservations in high places that may surprise Americans . . . To a striking extent professional diplomatic quarters, and other non-Communist or anti-Communist quarters, echoed in an only slightly attenuated form the Moscow charge of a new and expanding American imperialism." Recalling that General de Gaulle had declined aid from UNRRA for fear it would be used as an instrument of political interference in France, Callender closed by saying that in a similar way "many will hope to find a way to escape the protection of either the Soviet Union or the United States."

Walter Lippmann on April 8, commenting that "Greece is only a pin point in the Truman global policy," states that the case of Greece nevertheless illustrates a basic fallacy in the Truman Doctrine. That fallacy is that it assumes that we can check Communism by subsidizing such parties and factions as are clearly anti-Communist—a policy that will throw us into alliance with the most reactionary forces and that will alienate the moderate and democratic forces through the world, which are the only forces that can stop Communism, "our real friends in the struggle for freedom, and they will decide the issue."

This process of alienation of the democratic forces in Europe was illustrated on the day previous to the publication of Mr. Lippmann's comments in the action of the influential Cooperative Party of Great Britain. Herbert L. Matthews reported that at the annual conference of this party, an integral part of the Labor government, the party passed a resolution stating that the proposed policy of the United States "constitutes a menace to world peace and is the negation of democratic principles for the preservation of which the grave sacrifices in the last war were made." The following day, April 8, Mr. Matthews reports that the annual conference of the Union of Shop Distributive and Allied Workers of Britain, one of the very powerful groups in the Labor government, also passed a resolution calling upon the Government officially to repudiate the Truman proposals as a "threat to world peace" and as aimed at "establishing American military bases in the Mediterranean area" which constituted a challenge to the new democracies in Europe.

During the week before Easter Prof. W. Russell Bowie and three other New York ministers, Dr. Ralph W. Sockman, Dr. John Howland Lathrop, Dr. Guy Emery Shipley, sent to 1000 ministers a statement opposing the Truman proposals and asking their response. On April 10 Dr. Bowie reported that more than 250 supporting responses were received, a total which he says was twice the size of a reasonable expectation. The statement declared that "compelled by considerations of our Faith" the signers opposed the President's proposal as "the blunt abandonment of the vital principle that this is One World" and because "it would abandon true moral leadership in favor of reliance

on naked military and economic power. The two nations which it now proposed to assist are not chosen primarily for humanitarian sentiments or democratic affinities." They called upon the United States to "assert a true moral leadership by uniting, not dividing the world, through binding up its wounds, not stimulating the divisions and emotions which make for war."

Mr. Fiorella LaGuardia, testifying before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations with respect to S. 938, the bill embodying the President's proposals, called attention to the fact that upon the liquidation of UNRRA he had submitted on November 11 a comprehensive plan to meet the needs of all nations, which would have set up a commission under the United Nations, a United Nations Emergency Food Fund, with a revolving fund of four or five million dollars. Established by the General Assembly, it would have required from the countries receiving aid contributions of such commodities as each was able to provide, to which fund the United States would have contributed 49% (the US provided 72% of UNRRA funds). "The plan was universally acceptable," LaGuardia says, "except to the United States. The United States opposed the plan." Had it been followed, Greece would have been adequately cared for with an expenditure of some \$50,000.

Mr. LaGuardia further testified, from his experience as administrator of UNRRA and as a former U. S. consul in the Balkans, "If we ever start going there alone, we will rue the day. We can't do it. We are not temperamentally fitted to do it. . . . The conditions in the Balkans cannot be corrected overnight. They cannot be corrected in 10 years. Gentlemen, it will take a generation . . . Unless we get a mandate from the United Nations, it will be a waste of money, time, and eventually cause us a great deal of trouble and sorrow."

In the report by the Senate Committee after the hearings in recommending the passage of the bill, the Committee summed up the opposition in the following language:

"Many of the witnesses who appeared objected to the provisions of S. 938 mainly on the following grounds: (1) Unilateral action by the United States in the way of assistance to Greece and Turkey would tend to weaken the United Nations; (2) the extension of military assistance to these countries might not be in the best interests of world peace; 3) it was objectionable to support in this fashion the regimes now in power in Greece and Turkey; and (4) this initial request for aid might result in a series of similar requests from other states in various parts of the world.

The case was summed up at the conclusion of a very biting editorial in the *Christian Century* as follows.

A *pax Americana* would thus succeed to the *pax Britannica*. This military minded statesmanship does not see that by usurping Great Britain's imperial position we would take over also the permanent liabilities which have brought her empire to ruin, and this without the assets which for two centuries have filled the coffers of the ruling country. Chief among the liabilities will be the sacrifice of the moral position in world esteem which has been our proud possession for more than a century. . . . The American people are not ready to cast their traditions and ideals on the scrap heap. They want to help the stricken peoples of the world, but they do not want to dominate them. They are willing to give millions for humanitarian relief, millions—yes, and billions if necessary—for the support of the United Nations in the discharge of its world mission against every threat of war, but not one dollar for empire!

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them in order to protect himself. There seems to be no doubt that there is contributory negligence all around. The mine owners are guilty. The State of Illinois through its administration is guilty. Mr. Krug as federal mine administrator must accept a share of the guilt. Mr. Lewis himself was a contributor to the negligence. It is the miners who dig the coal, who spend their lives in the dark and dangerous tunnels far underground who are really helpless. They continue to die at the rate of 85 per month. It is their blood that you see on your coal.

ON SOCIAL FRONTIERS

Henry Ford, Pioneer. The death of Henry Ford marks the passing of one of the most remarkable figures of the modern industrial era. He did more than any other man to put humanity on wheels, to revolutionize the transportation industry, and thereby to contribute to the change which has taken place in the social order in the past forty years. He built a billion-dollar corporation and accumulated one of the largest personal and family fortunes in the history of the world. Yet he hated the Wall Street bankers with a bitter hatred. He laid the foundation of his fortune by building a car for the average man, a car that almost anybody could buy. Yet he abandoned his cheap Model T to compete for the higher priced trade and left the average buyer to the second-hand market. He firmly believed that a mass production economy demands mass consumption and raised the wages of his workers first to a \$5 per day minimum and later to \$7. But he subjected his workers to long lay-off without pay while preparing his yearly model changes. In many respects a humanitarian, his infamous "service" department under the direction of Harry Bennett, became the symbol of brutality in industrial relations. He bitterly opposed the organization of his workers into labor unions and consented to collective bargaining only when compelled to do so under the National Labor Relations Act. He was a believer in "free enterprise," yet he ruled his industrial empire with an iron hand, even to the point of prescribing equipment for small-town and cross-roads authorized sales and service garages. He was a connoisseur of early Americana, but once declared that history is "bunk." He loved to pose as a defender of the American way of life, but mid-way in his career he was America's leading disseminator of anti-Semitism. He was a genius, a man of many and strange contradictions. A pioneer, he was perfectly at home in the rough-and-tumble of pioneer industrial conditions. But like many another pioneer, he found it hard to make the adjustments required by a growing and developing social order. He was the last of what James Truslow Adams calls "the age of the dinosaurs."

Arabian Oil. The Navy paid the American-Arabian Oil Co., and the California-Texas Oil Co., \$1.05 per barrel for oil in the Persian Gulf area for which the British admiralty paid only 40c per barrel, and for which the Navy paid the same figure up to 1945, when they decided their concessions were safe, so testified James A. Moffett, former oilman and ex-government official, to a Senate investigating committee on March 29. Thus another angle to our commitments to Greece and Turkey comes to light.

Campus Politics. While student government is potentially the best government for school, college and university campuses, in actual practice student councils tend to become political machines that teach hypocrisy, so Stanley E. Dimond, director of citizenship education study in the Detroit public schools and Wayne University, told the National Educational Association convention in Atlantic City. "Where council members are selected because of racial, religious or class feeling in a school," he said, "that school is developing future Fascists and not citizens of our democracy." This is a word too lately and too mildly spoken. Campus politics in many a high school, college and university would put Tammany to shame. A recent poll of University of Texas students revealed that cheating on examination is so widely prevalent that the student "honor pledge" is little more than a mockery. For this state of affairs responsibility must rest chiefly upon Greek letter fraternities and sororities which so often combine to control campus government, upon the "unorganized" students who frequently regard their college years as but an interlude and take no responsibility for campus citizenship. Faculties and governing boards must also assume their share of blame. Campus political corruption is not harmless boys' play. It sets a pattern that tends to perpetuate itself not only in the life of the school but in the lives of the students themselves. Our schoolrooms are our fortresses of democracy. When it is dead there it is dead everywhere.

CHURCH AND COMMUNITY SERVICE

Mrs. Ruth D. Estes

MATERIAL AID TO MISSION FIELDS

Illinois-India Project

Early in December 1946, churches of Illinois under the leadership of Mrs. Stella C. Peck, state secretary for missionary organizations, inaugurated a service project for India. It included clothing for babies and children; educational materials for school children; games for young people; books, notebooks, etc., for men; sewing materials for women; and hospital supplies. Illinois responded in a grand way with 115 parcels which approximated 1500 pounds of supplies.

Boxes for Babies

Many, many complete and beautiful layettes have been received from church groups over the nation. These have been judiciously allocated to needy places. Boxes still are being received every week.

Sunday School Lessons on Missions

Mission study units in the graded lessons for children have borne fruit, too. Gifts of toys, scrapbooks, mounted pictures, yarn, hospital bandages, etc., have come to the department from children's groups, designated for the countries they have studied.

Other Gifts

Boxes of clothing and hospital supplies continue to arrive for the Philippines, China, Africa, and the Sapucay Leper Colony in Paraguay.

Boxes for Japanese Preachers and Teachers

In December an appeal went out to 100 churches for boxes of food and clothing for our Japanese preachers and teachers to be sent as Christmas gifts to these brethren with whom we had not had fellowship for a long time. Twenty-nine boxes were sent representing the response of a few over one-fourth of the churches contacted.

DISCIPLE AID TO POLAND

Clothing Shipped

In January approximately 800 pounds of used clothing, bedding, and shoes was shipped to the New York headquarters of the Union of Churches of Christ in Poland. Again, the first of April over 1000 pounds of warm clothing and shoes was sent to the same center.

Grain for Poland

Recently an appeal was made to some 275 of our rural churches for grain and seeds. Replies to the social welfare department indicate that Christians of rural communities have responded in an excellent way. Bro. Jerzy Sacewicz took the offerings of seed as well as the last shipment of clothing mentioned above when he sailed on April 11. Another shipment was made April 18.

The Heifer Project Committee of the Brethren Service Committee is cooperating with Mr. Sacewicz in sending a boatload of cattle to Poland this spring.

RELIEF

Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft, general secretary of the World Council of Churches, told the Church World Service committee on cooperation with the churches of Europe, "that some of the leaders in Europe, both lay and clergy, are growing tired and disillusioned. They need encouragement." With their contributions through Church World Service the American churches are sending this encouragement. The leaders of Europe are given strength to see the task as a long term one, not just an emergency.

CWS Ships 4 Million Pounds

Thirteen countries in Asia and Europe received shares of 1,769,000 pounds of relief goods contributed by Americans and shipped abroad by Church World Service in February.

Garments, food, bedding, and shoes made up the bulk of the cargoes. There were also quantities of vitamin tablets and medicines going to Asia. Nearly 9,000 yards of cotton goods were sent to Burma, where a desperate shortage of light-weight clothing exists. Some of the special gifts included several cases of periodicals and New Testaments, educational games, an artificial limb, hearing aids, a case of dental supplies, and a

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case of altar cloths and robes. The 13 countries which received shipments are Austria, Finland, Germany, Greece, Italy, and Poland in Europe; Burma, China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, and Malaya in Asia. CWS is striving to reach a goal of shipping 23 million pounds overseas in 1947.

C.A.R.E.

This service is one of the most sure and efficient ways of sending packages to Europe. The great volume of over 100,000 packages a month to Germany, and over 30,000 a month for Austria, is an important contribution to their food supply. These packages contain enough food to supplement the government ration for five up to an endurable level for over three weeks.

Disciples Contribution to C.A.R.E.

Since last December 1, Disciple churches and organizations have sent over 200 packages to needy European families. We are certain many more have been contributed by churches who sent the contribution directly to C.A.R.E.

The NEW C.A.R.E. food package weighs several pounds less than the former one but there is a larger caloric content which, of course, means more to the recipient. The package now includes Braised beef, Liver loaf, Corned beef, Shortening, Sugar, Dried apricots and prunes, Flour, Coffee, Chocolate, Dry whole milk powder, Dry egg powder, Yeast, and Soap.

The NEW C.A.R.E. woolen package contains enough material to make a suit or coat for an adult, two suits for children, or many other articles of much-needed clothing. Heavy cotton lining, thread, buttons, needles, even a thimble is added.

The C.A.R.E. Blanket package contains two all-virgin wool blankets which in addition to being excellent bedding can be made into useful and attractive clothing. Besides blankets the package contains 2 pairs of heels and soles, a pair of scissors, an assortment of pins, needles, thread, and yarn, one thimble.

C.A.R.E. has extended service to England. Americans may now send these packages to persons or organizations in Great Britain. Extension of the service to include England brings to 14 the number of European countries served by C.A.R.E.

NOTES ON THE FOOD SITUATION

The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations reports the following: Very restricted levels of food consumption, particularly among city dwellers, still prevail in much of Continental Europe, the Far East and India. In most of the liberated European countries, bread rations now average about 10½ ounces per day, meat between one and two ounces, and fats about one ounce.

For millions of people in these countries, present diets, with allowance for foods from all sources, vary on the nutritionists' barometer between the "emergency subsistence" and "temporary maintenance" levels. This would lead to serious physical effects even among people hitherto well fed. Most of the people in the deficit areas have been undernourished for several years at least. More and more, lowered resistance is taking its toll in death and disease. Disregarding the prolongation of malnutrition, current food consumption is hardly enough to prevent serious undernutrition and, at best, is insufficient for full activity and consequently for economic recovery. It is by no means certain that these very frugal levels will be held in all parts during the remaining months of this supply year. Some countries may have to make cuts in bread rations before they gather their new crops. Breadgrain stocks are low everywhere so that food distribution is always under threat of breakdown.

Even more serious is the position of the millions of urban people in western zones of Germany where the normal consumer's ration nominally supplies only 1,550 calories, and where little unrationed supplemental food is available. In many towns the ration is frequently not available in full. Food consumption then, in this region is at the "semi-starvation" level, with the inevitable result of famine oedema and other grave symptoms of underfeeding. It is important to realize that much of the reduced German output of coal and other materials which is a grave impediment to economic recovery in the entire continent, is directly attributable to lack of food.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Teen-Age Murderers

"Two homicides a day are committed by American boys and girls under twenty. And one of them is by a boy or girl under eighteen"—this startling unsentimental fact is pointed out by Albert Deutsch in his article, "Catch Me Before I Kill," which appeared in the March issue of *The Woman's Home Companion*. Mr. Deutsch continues, "yet most, if not all child murders could be prevented . . . by prompt social action and medical treatment."

The writer, after recounting some specific cases which have shocked the populace of our country in the last two years, clearly shows that danger signals flared up in the young people prior to their act of murder but went unheeded by parents, by school authorities, and other responsible persons. He summarizes by saying that, "the case histories of teen-age murderers invariably reveal that their crimes arise from twisted minds and emotions that *can be straightened out* by prompt and effective application of expert knowledge and skills."

"The act of murder by children," the article continues, "is only the end result of neglecting their serious emotional social maladjustments. That adjusting *can* be done to spot these troubles early and to relieve or remove them has been shown again and again."

The sum and substance of recent studies is that psychiatric service should be made available to all schools, parents, and others who are responsible for the normal development of children. Also, that these people should be educated to seek this service, and to follow the treatment recommended by the psychiatrist without fail.

Judge Michael Scott of St. Louis Juvenile Court tells us "It costs more to run a boy through the reformatory than through college," yet taxpayers seem to be cautious of the cost of character education and careless of the cost of crime.

* * *

The noted surgeon, Dr. Charles Mayo, in addressing a large convention of boys, said in part: "You can get along with a wooden leg, but you can't get along with a wooden head. The physical value of man is not so much. Man as analyzed in our laboratories is worth about ninety-eight cents. Seven bars of soap, lime enough to whitewash a chicken coop, phosphorous enough to cover the heads of a thousand matches, is not so much, you see.

"It is the brain that counts, but in order that your brain may be kept clear you must keep your body fit and well. That cannot be done if one drinks liquor.

"Through alcoholic stimulation a man loses his coordination. That is why liquor is no advantage to the brain. You hear people tell how they had their wits quickened for the first half-hour by liquor, but they don't tell you how later the body could not act in co-ordination with the brain.

"Keep yourselves free from all entangling habits.

"Remember, it's the brain that counts."

VANDENBERG TO THE RESCUE [Cont. from p. 1, col. 1]

but it has been stated time and again that ideas cannot be overcome by bullets, tanks, guns or airplanes, but only by better ideas. Democratic ideals cannot be perpetuated by giving financial and military assistance to corrupt and tyrannical regimes, but by demonstrating that it can provide a better way of life to people. Americans will favor material aid to Greece, Turkey, or any other nation in need of it, so long as it is used honestly and economically to rehabilitate lives and national economies, but they will not favor the use of American grants and American power to bolster undemocratic governments simply on the basis of political expediency. The best barrier to Communism anywhere is a truly democratic government that provides a better way of life for its people.